Smithsonian--IH E-5 (1930-1931) 1936, 1938 SI'34 Unc SI'34
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Aymara and Kolua /Quechua/ communities recall the numerous *mestizos* /in English/ or *ghettos* of the North American Indians with which I could not dare, however, to liken them.

These two parts of the tribe, so clearly differentiated in space, have a very strong individuality. They constitute two practically independent units, without any other tie than the communal celebration of certain festivals and the recognition of a chief with poorly defined functions and, of recent creation, the *corregidor*.

An antagonism exists between the two sections which is manifested in a violent form in the course of the great festivals celebrated by the tribe as a whole. Bloody fights then break out between the members of the two *ayus* inflamed by alcohol. These squabbles are considered a necessary complement of the merry-making. Rarely between the two parts of Chipaya are so common that one Indian announced to me one day that he was glad of my presence in the village at carnival time for, he added, the two "moieties" would not dare to insult each other in front of strangers and so there should be no domestic incidents to deplore. As the guest of one of the sections I never enjoyed the trust and sympathy in the other that the people of "my" section displayed toward me. Outside of festivals and assemblies called to discuss general tribal affairs the two *ayus* ignore each other, and although their existences follow a parallel plan there are only rarely mingled.

When they are talking to a stranger the Chipaya designate the two divisions of their village by the Aymara names *manan-uya* and *aran-uya*, but in their language *manan-uya* is called *tsanta* and *aran-uya*, *tsanto*. Now, these two words mean "east" and "west" (*tsanta* is derived from the root *tsa* back) and simply indicate that these two sectors are oriented according to these two cardinal points. Several times when I was talking to them about their social organization the Chipaya called these two sectors *ayl'a manan-uya* and *ayl'a aran-uya*. If we were to take our informants literally each section would constitute a clan. But I do

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of Huachacalla whom I questioned replied to me that they were used for "superstitions," and that he did not want to know anything about the cult and the pagan ceremonies which were clandestinely performed there.

The agents of worship. Each festival is presided over by an alferez who bears the costs of it. It is he who furnishes the victims for the sacrifice and who distributes the coca and alcohol, the main attractions of these ceremonies. He must, moreover, offer a feast for all the inhabitants on the day after the festival. This generosity gives him the right to occupy a place of honor in the middle of the assembly, to sit behind the sheaves of sacred straw, and to /341/ receive the homage and compliments of those present. These privileges do not end with the ceremony of which he took charge. On Carnival day the alferez of the preceding festivals dance, carrying on their backs the sheaves which they acquired while they were in office and which the rites have consecrated. On this day they bear once again the white banner, the insignia of their rank from which they draw their name. A rivalry exists among the alferez which is translated into a desire to eclipse each other and to surpass each other in largess. If the festival for which they had responsibility was particularly successful, if the people of their saya were well entertained and intoxicated, and if the garlands of cheese and fruit were plentiful, they gain a certain prestige which flatters their vanity. For vanity is the weak point of the Indian character. I do not know if an alferez who has proved himself generous has more of a chance than another to get the title of alcalde or corregidor. The institution of the alferez is very widespread in the entire Andean region. It is so strongly impregnated with Spanish and Catholic elements that one hesitates to see the survival of indigenous traditions in it. Nevertheless, this idea of rivalry and certain details recall the forms of potlatch too much to allow us to attribute an exclusively post-Columbian origin to this important office. One must read in Paredes (1) the pages which he devotes to

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*796 231 236 535 Heated by the alcohol, some Indians danced distractedly across the village streets. These were the only manifestations which I observed during this festival.

Pagan-Christian Practices to Obtain Rain.

*796 781 857 At the end of January, as the sky remained implacably blue, the Čipaya feared a drought and the destruction of their pastures. After general deliberation they decided to have recourse to public [185] prayers. These were made by all the children, who were obliged to fast during the morning and were then sent in a procession to the church to /378/ circle the cross facing the court in front on their knees. The same ceremony took place before the small chapel, whose steps the children ascended on their knees. A sheep was sacrificed on this occasion, and the four corners of the cross's stand [262] were sprinkled with its blood. The meat /of the sheep/ was consumed solely by the children.

527 Carnival Festival.

Carnival for the Čipaya Indian is the festival par excellence *[796 803] beside which all the others are only pious duties. At Carnival /Figure 36 appears here/ /379/ although he observes some rites his aim above all is to drink and dance until he falls down dead ●[578] drunk. If a few bloody scuffles with the people of the other saya are added to these amusements, his happiness is complete. Carnival is also the only leaven of activity for him, the only moment of the year in which his mind can rest with complacency and of which he thinks in terms of its sottishness and unconcern for the future. The prospect of being present at a festival which had been so much extoled was alone powerful enough to keep me in Chipaya behond the time I had set. I had, however, every reason to feel deceived, and the Čipaya themselves showed me their disappointment in a not very successful carnival. Good intentions were not lacking but the alcohol, the precious alcohol, [839] and the no less precious coca. The crisis which elsewhere was tossing up Latin American presidents was depriving the Čipaya of their outlets for the export of their cheeses and condemning them to celebrate Carnival by diluting their alcohol with water.

[Text Continues on P. 110]

/380 cont./ They scarcely, I believe, had a few quarrels and exchanges of blows, and I did not see any of the public copulations to which Carnival festivals often give rise among the Aymara.

The following Sunday, the last day of the Carnival festivities, was particularly lively. All the clans had joined together and were dancing in a compact mass. The church tower had been decorated with garlands of /381/ fruit, cheeses, and bread, and a sheep immolated in its honor. The four corners and the bells had been sprinkled with its blood.

The prayer to the Tower, a demon which, like the Čunkirini-mal'ku, is common to the two saya, was recited in the course of this sacrifice:

Turi-mal'ku,	Čawk	mal'ku,	Santa Ana,	mal'ku	tuanta,
Tower-demon,	great	demon,	Saint Anne,	demon	east,

taxatištan,	maitiñi,	roktiñi	hasiki
west of	he who obtains,	who prays,	in this moment,

suma,	waino,	tiempo	ǰmaitišimal'a,	wale,	wale,
good	young	weather	hearken to me,	good,	good,

suma	wata	ǰmaitišiña	t apa	serwintišta.
good	year	grant us	all	servants to.

"Demon of the tower, great divinity, Saint Anne, demon of the Tuanta and Taxata saya, our intercessor, thou who prayest, make us at this time have propitious and good weather, grant us a good, very good year to all of us, thy servants."

The spectators lined up in two rows face to face and exchanged their bags of coca and their last drinking cups of alcohol. Some of them, the most important, had separated themselves from the assembly and offered up their libations to the demons and the guardian saints, kneeling before their sacred sticks. A colleague stood in front of them to say the responses.

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278 [177] The Čipaya Indians of Carangas have been so deeply impregnated with the influence of the Aymara Indians that we may presume that, in the sphere of medicine, they are hardly distinguishable from their neighbors of the altiplano. It is completely [439] justifiable if their knowledge is more rudimentary because of their isolation and the difficulty which they experience in obtaining the medical substances, almost all of which come from the Yungas. I was able to convince myself of this by examining one day a bag of medicine which had been left by a deceased Čipaya, the father of a young Indian with whom I had a friendly relationship. In the legacy of the old man I found several pharmaceutical products which I had obtained in the Oruro market. The deceased possessed small amounts of them which he had carefully wrapped in some small rags. His son refused to sell them to me, allegedly because [959] of their great value and the difficulty of procuring them. I doubt, however, that anyone in Chipaya could have benefited from them, for, to my knowledge at least, there is no Indian in this village who possesses sufficient skill to carry out their application.

164 759 123 Practically every day in the hut which I was occupying I received visits from Indians coming to ask me for remedies for various ills. The most frequent was constipation, which seems to frighten the Čipaya very much. I was also able to see a hernia and a terrible infection which the Indians treated by applying a piece of llama heart to the abscess. The Indians often called [578] upon me to care for swellings, the result of drubbings which they [842] had not spared themselves in their domestic quarrels. Some also came to beg me to cure them of impotence. In some not very serious cases of swellings or localized pains, the Indians content themselves with sticking a coca leaf on the skin.

757 At present the empirical medicine of the Čipaya seems to be limited to a certain number of insignificant recipes, frequently and easily applied. Faced with a serious case they have recourse to complicated magical processes which I had the good fortune to observe. I should not be able to say, however, if the exceptional

/166 cont./ When the pile of cheeses is high enough it is firmly bound with a wool rope and left to drip for a certain number of days. These cheeses, white and tasteless, are seasoned with salt which the Čipaya get from the great salt deposits which spread out about 30 kilometers from their village. /167/ /Figure 3 appears here./

/168/ Weapons

The small number of weapons that the Čipaya have is a direct consequence of the insignificance of hunting in their economy. As for war, it is an unknown phenomenon for them. Who would dream of coming to pick a fight with them for possession of the sand dunes or stunted pastures? The only occasions for giving free rein to their bellicose instincts are the festivals. The alcohol they absorb then accentuates the underhand rivalry of the sayas among themselves, and, awakening passions, leads them to often bloody fights. I do not know if any weapons other than sticks and fists enter into play in this case.

The sling (kxorawa) (Fig. 4, A /see p. 157/), which is the weapon par excellence of the Indians of the altiplano, has only a peacable use in Chipaya: it is used to hurl lumps of earth at llamas or sheep to prevent them from straying from the flock or from the route being followed. It is possible that the Čipaya might have recourse to the sling when they have some quarrels with the people of the other saya, but I was never able to get particulars on this subject. Another circumstance contributes to making the sling of the Čipaya a harmless instrument: the lack of stones able to serve as projectiles.

The bolas of the Čipaya play a role close to that of the sling: they permit them to catch the sheep. The most common type is the ordinary bola. The stones instead of being caught in a leather sheath, as is the case with the archaeological specimens (Fig. 4, D-B), are furnished with a groove which prevents the rope from slipping (Fig. 4, J).

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/205 cont./

same. Boredom and silence overwhelm the village. The children themselves share in this general sullenness: they never have fun, so to speak, and have no toys. The men watch over their sheep with a vague eye or stay squatting in their huts chewing coca or doing nothing. The women, if necessity forces them, weave some coarse material or occupy their leisure time by looking for fleas on each other or by having the innumerable small plaits of their hair made.

The Čipaya are nonetheless much more congenial and pleasant than their neighbors the Aymara. They do not have the morbid mistrust of strangers which many of the Bolivians have inherited from the Aymara. They are also not so stupidly grasping and stubborn as the latter. The Čipaya are, without doubt, of all the Indians on the altiplano the most pleasant and easygoing. In spite of this dismal apathy which I have just noted, they are capable of laughing, which rarely happens among the Aymara, at least in the presence of strangers. They know how to appear well-wishing, and my relations with them were almost always excellent. I had difficulty with only two Čipaya, who, in the middle of a festival insulted me /206/ liberally. Their attitude, due to their alcoholic excesses, was severely judged by those present. During all the ceremonies in which I took part, I was the object of all sorts of attentions, and they never forgot to offer me alcohol and coca. This generosity was all the more touching as the poor Čipaya pay a lot for these products and, as a result of the crisis, had only a very little. I often received presents of small cheeses which were given me as a sign of recognition for a service or advice. Sometimes these humble gifts were made without any hidden reason, simply out of friendliness.

I never had to complain of dishonesty among them, but I have reason to believe, however, that they are not so scrupulous when it is a question of the property of other members of the tribe. Several small facts removed all my illusions in this respect. Life in Chipaya is not idyllic. Jealousy rages there like an unleashed and malevolent devil. No Indian dared to sell me the objects which I acquired for my collections in broad daylight: all feared the unkind comments of those near them.

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of those near them. The envy which tortures these contained and impassive beings manifests itself in an underhand manner in low acts of revenge, in denunciations of each other to the alcaldes, and in interminable quarrels. Some Čipaya seem to realize this state of mind and complain about it. One of them who had traveled a bit spoke to me of it with bitterness: "Here," he said, "all hate each other, all envy each other, all steal from each other, and it does not make a good life."

Married life often reflects the brutality and ill-nature of the characters. Disputes between spouses are frequent and degenerate into volleys of blows with sticks which the husband administers to his wife or reciprocally. The in-laws take part in these domestic conflicts and add to them. These quarrels can give way to drama: a few days after my arrival in Chipaya, a woman in a sudden fit of hysterical anger against her husband strangled herself with her own hands.

Sexual morality seems to be, from what the Čipaya told me, bad from our point of view. Young girls enjoy a great deal of freedom before marriage, and no importance seems to be granted to virginity. Illegitimate children are welcome and do not prevent them from marrying. In contrast, infractions against conjugal fidelity can have serious repercussions. Some women seem to let themselves be seduced easily, and these cases of adultery or attempted adultery provoke in turn brawls and scuffles. In general there is no apparent affection between man and wife. The women have nonetheless a privileged position, and their authority is incontestable. They speak to their husbands in firm and decisive tones, and no decision can be /207/ made without their consent. The children are never mistreated. From the point of view of character, the Čipaya compare very favorably with the Uro of Ancoaqui, their brothers in race, who still more than they have felt the pernicious Aymara influence. The last 30 Uro of the Desaguadero compete in hostility and distrust of strangers, even well-meaning ones, and it is hardly pleasant to stay with them.

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not raise guinea pigs, as do most of the altiplano tribes, and have only a few chickens. Their primitive agriculture is limited to the cultivation of a little quinoa on the tribally owned lands which are distributed yearly by the mayor to families at the fiesta of San Andrés (November 30). Their principal industry and chief source of wealth is cheese made of sheep milk. The *Chipaya* eat a number of wild tubers and occasionally hunt vicuñas and small rodents.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

About 1930 there were some 350 *Chipaya* in Carangas, which was physically divided into nonexogamous moieties, called "East" and "West," each with its own mayor. The moieties form rival and very antagonistic groups. They fight each other on occasion and kill each other's pigs and sheep for trespassing. The *Chipaya* kinship system, like that of the *Uru*, is much influenced by the *Aymara*. Descent is patrilineal, and residence patrilocal for a year or until the birth of the first child or two. All *Chipaya*, without exception, are bilingual and speak *Aymara* fluently; indeed, ordinarily they speak *Uru* only among themselves at home.

Their music and folklore are entirely *Aymarized*.

RELIGION

The religion of the *Chipaya* does not differ from that of the *Aymara* of the same region. Some rites, however, may have been better preserved among the *Chipaya* than in communities more open to outside influences.

Chipaya religion is a blend of pagan and Christian beliefs and practices, with a strong predominance of the former.

The main *Chipaya* deities, to whom they render a public cult, are the Saints (San Felipe, Jerónimo, and Santa Ana, the protector of the village), the Earth Mother, Pachamama, who is often confused with the Virgin Mary, a host of spirits (*malku*) with little individuality (Chunkirini-*malku*, Kemperani-*malku*, Estewan-*malku*), the mountains seen from the village (among them, Nevada de Sajama), the Llauca River, and the tower of the church (Torre-*malku*). The *samiri* are sacred stone fetishes on which the prosperity of the village hinges.

Family houses are protected by a spirit (*patio-malku*), represented by stuffed spotted cats or hawks, which are worshiped only by the members of the household.

Public cults.—The most important *Chipaya* deity is Pachamama, or Earth Mother. She is not worshiped on a special date, like the *malkus* and saints, but is associated with every *Chipaya* ceremony, public or private. She is invoked in most prayers and is offered coca, libations of chicha, and grease balls decorated with plants and silver